power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benevolence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

105 554 565 [557] 105 622 [273]

178 622 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the communal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire. from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[627] [423] 105 64 000

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

meet at the appointed place on a given day, the younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

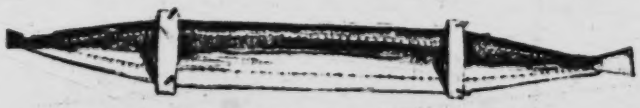
It should be understood that the Ainu settlements were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.



TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

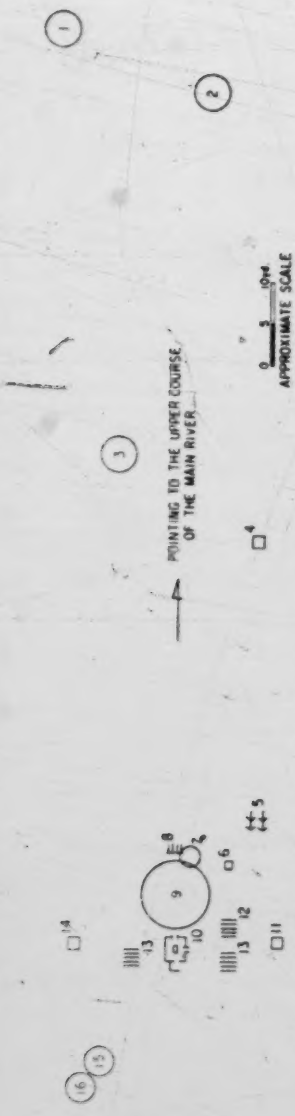


Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60–62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[1]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning
[421] beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as
[622] the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 184 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups, a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 361 184 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group, though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7).
177
[101]